## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

March 18,	1998
Emerson	LaFalce
Engel	LaHood
English Ensign	Lampson Lantos
Eshoo	Largent
Etheridge	Latham LaTourette
Evans Everett	Lazio
Farr	Leach
Fattah Fawell	Levin Lewis (CA)
Fazio	Lewis (GA)
Filner	Lewis (KY)
Foley Forbes	Linder Livingston
Ford	LoBiondo
Fossella Fowler	Lofgren
Fox	Lowey Lucas
Frank (MA)	Luther
Franks (NJ) Frelinghuysen	Maloney (CT) Maloney (NY)
Frost	Manton
Furse	Manzullo
Gallegly Ganske	Markey Mascara
Gejdenson	Matsui
Gekas Gibbons	McCarthy (MO) McCarthy (NY)
Gilchrest	McCollum
Gillmor	McCrery
Gilman Goode	McDermott McGovern
Goodlatte	McHale
Goodling Gordon	McHugh McInnis
Goss	McIntyre
Graham	McKeon
Granger Green	McKinney McNulty
Greenwood	Meehan
Gutknecht	Meek (FL)
Hall (OH) Hall (TX)	Meeks (NY) Menendez
Hamilton	Metcalf
Hansen Harman	Mica Millender-
Hastert	McDonald
Hastings (FL)	Miller (CA)
Hayworth Hefley	Miller (FL) Minge
Herger	Mink
Hill Hilleary	Moakley Mollohan
Hilliard	Moran (KS)
Hinchey Hinojosa	Moran (VA) Morella
Hobson	Murtha
Hoekstra	Myrick
Holden Hooley	Nadler Neal
Horn	Nethercutt
Hostettler Hoyer	Neumann Ney
Hulshof	Northup
Hunter Hutchinson	Norwood Nussle
Hyde	Oberstar
Istook	Obey
Jackson (IL) Jackson-Lee	Olver Ortiz
(TX)	Owens
Jefferson Jenkins	Oxley Packard
John	Pallone
Johnson (CT)	Pappas
Johnson (WI) Johnson, E. B.	Pascrell Pastor
Johnson, E. B. Johnson, Sam	Paxon
Jones Kanjorski	Payne Pease
Kaptur	Pelosi
Kasich	Peterson (MN)
Kelly Kennedy (MA)	Peterson (PA) Petri
Kennedy (RI)	Pickering
Kennelly Kildee	Pickett Pitts
Kilpatrick	Pombo
Kim Kind (WI)	Pomeroy Porter
King (NY)	Portman
Kingston	Price (NC)
Kleczka Klink	Pryce (OH) Quinn
Klug	Radanovich
Knollenberg Kolbe	Rahall Ramstad
Kucinich	Rangel

Redmond Regula Reyes Riggs Rilev Rivers Rodriguez Roemer Rogan Rogers Rohrabacher Ros-Lehtinen Rothman Roukema Roybal-Allard Royce Rush Ryun Salmon Sanchez Sanders Sandlin Sanford Sawyer Saxton Scarborough Schaefer, Dan Schaffer, Bob Schumer Scott Sensenbrenner Serrano Sessions Shadegg Shaw Shavs Sherman Shimkus Shuster Sisisky Skaggs Skeen Skelton Slaughter Smith (MI) Smith (NJ) Smith (OR) Smith (TX) Smith. Adam Smith, Linda Snowbarger Snyder Solomon Souder Spence Stabenow Stark Stearns Stenholm Stokes Strickland Stump Sununu Talent Tanner Tauscher Tauzin Taylor (MS) Taylor (NC) Thomas Thompson Thornberry Thune Thurman Tiahrt Tierney Torres Towns Traficant Upton Velazquez Vento Visclosky Walsh Wamp Watkins Watt (NC) Watts (OK) Waxman Weldon (FL) Weldon (PA) Weller Wexler

Weygand

Whitfield

White

Wicker

Wynn Young (FL) Wolf Yates Woolsey Young (AK) NAYS-2 Houghton Paul ANSWERED "PRESENT"-1 Barr NOT VOTING-21

Armey Gutierrez McIntosh Hastings (WA) Crane Parker Davis (IL) Hefner Poshard Doolittle Inglis Schiff Lipinski Martinez Ewing Gephardt Stupak Turner Gonzalez McDade Waters

#### □ 1139

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McInnis). Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5 of rule I, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device may be taken on the additional motion to suspend the rules on which the Chair has postponed further proceedings.

CALLING FOR AN END TO VIO-LENT REPRESSION OF LEGITI-MATE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE OF KOSOVA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the concurrent resolution. House Concurrent Resolution 235, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 235. as amended, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

Ťhe vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 406, nays 1, answered "present" 1, not voting 23, as follows:

#### [Roll No. 57] YEAS-406

Abercrombie	Bartlett	Boehlert
Ackerman	Barton	Boehner
Aderholt	Bass	Bonilla
Allen	Bateman	Bonior
Andrews	Becerra	Borski
Archer	Bentsen	Boswell
Armey	Bereuter	Boucher
Bachus	Berman	Boyd
Baesler	Berry	Brady
Baker	Bilirakis	Brown (CA)
Baldacci	Bishop	Brown (FL)
Ballenger	Blagojevich	Brown (OH)
Barcia	Bliley	Bryant
Barrett (NE)	Blumenauer	Bunning
Barrett (WI)	Blunt	Burr

Callahan Calvert Camp Campbell Canady Cannon Capps Cardin Carson Castle Chabot Chambliss Chenoweth Christensen Clay Clayton Clement Clyburn Coble Coburn Collins Combest Condit Conyers Cook Cooksey Costello Cox Coyne Cramer Crapo Cubin Cummings Cunningham Danner Davis (FL) Davis (VA) Deal DeFazio DeGette Delahunt DeLauro DeLay Deutsch Diaz-Balart Dicks Dingell Dixon Doggett Dooley Dovle Dreier Duncan Dunn Edwards Ehlers Ehrlich Emerson Engel English Ensign Eshoo Etheridge Evans Everett Ewing Farr Fattah Fazio Filner Foley Forbes Ford Fossella Fowler Fox Frank (MA) Franks (NJ) Frelinghuysen Frost Gallegly Ganske Gejdenson Gibbons Gilchrest Gillmor Gilman Goode Goodlatte Goodling Gordon Goss Granger Green

Greenwood

Gutknecht

McKinney

McNulty

Shuster

Sisisky

Buyer

Hall (OH) Hall (TX) Meehan Meek (FL) Hamilton Meeks (NY) Hansen Menendez Harman Metcalf Hastert Mica Hastings (FL) Millender-McDonald Hastings (WA) Hayworth Miller (CA) Miller (FL) Hefley Herger Minge Hill Mink Hilleary Moakley Hilliard Mollohan Hinchey Moran (KS) Hinojosa Moran (VA) Hoekstra Morella Holden Murtha Hooley Myrick Horn Nädler Hostettler Neal Nethercutt Houghton Hoyer Hulshof Neumann Ney Northup Hunter Hutchinson Norwood Hvde Nussle Istook Oberstar Jackson (IL) Obey Jackson-Lee Olver (TX) Ortiz Jefferson Owens Oxley Jenkins Packard John Johnson (CT) Pallone Johnson (WI) Pappas Johnson, E. B. Pascrell Johnson, Sam Pastor Paxon Jones Kanjorski Payne Kaptur Kasich Pease Pelosi Kelly Peterson (MN) Kennedy (MA) Peterson (PA) Kennedy (RI) Petri Kennelly Pickering Pickett Kildee Kilpatrick Pitts Kim Kind (WI) Pombo Pomerov King (NY) Porter Kingston Portman Kleczka Price (NC) Klink Pryce (OH) Klug Knollenberg Quinn Řadanovich Kolbe Rahall Kucinich Ramstad LaFalce Rangel LaHood Redmond Lampson Regula Reves Lantos Largent Riggs Riley Latham Rivers LaTourette Lazio Rodriguez Roemer Rogan Leach Levin Lewis (CA) Rogers Lewis (GA) Lewis (KY) Rohrabacher Ros-Lehtinen Linder Rothman Livingston Roukema LoBiondo Roybal-Allard Lofgren Royce Rush Lowey Lucas Ryun Luther Sabo Maloney (CT) Salmon Maloney (NY) Sanchez Manton Sanders Manzullo Sandlin Markey Sanford Mascara Sawyer Matsui Saxton McCarthy (MO) Schaefer, Dan McCarthy (NY) Schaffer Bob McCollum Schumer McCrery Scott McDermott Sensenbrenner McGovern Serrano McHale Sessions McHugh Shadegg McInnis Shaw McIntosh Shays McIntvre Sherman McKeon Shimkus

Skaggs	Stump	Walsh
Skeen	Sununu	Wamp
Skelton	Talent	Waters
Slaughter	Tanner	Watkins
Smith (MI)	Tauscher	Watt (NC)
Smith (NJ)	Tauzin	Watts (OK)
Smith (OR)	Taylor (MS)	Waxman
Smith (TX)	Taylor (NC)	Weldon (FL)
Smith, Adam	Thomas	Weldon (PA)
Smith, Linda	Thompson	Weller
Snowbarger	Thornberry	Wexler
Snyder	Thune	Weygand
Solomon	Thurman	White
Souder	Tiahrt	Whitfield
Spence	Tierney	Wicker
Spratt	Torres	Wise
Stabenow	Towns	Wolf
Stark	Traficant	Woolsey
Stearns	Upton	Wynn
Stenholm	Velazquez	Yates
Stokes	Vento	Young (AK)
Strickland	Visclosky	Young (FL)

#### NAYS-1

#### Paul

#### ANSWERED "PRESENT"-1

#### Barr

#### NOT VOTING-23

Bilbray	Gonzalez	McDade
Crane	Graham	Parker
Davis (IL)	Gutierrez	Poshard
Dickey	Hefner	Scarborough
Doolittle	Hobson	Schiff
Fawell	Inglis	Stupak
Gekas	Lipinski	Turner
Gephardt	Martinez	

#### □ 1149

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, on roll call no. 57, I was inadvertently detained and missed the vote. Had I been present, I would have voted "Yes".

#### DIRECTING THE PRESIDENT TO REMOVE U.S. ARMED FORCES FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, March 12, 1998, I call up the concurrent resolution (H.Con.Res. 227) directing the President pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McInnis). The concurrent resolution is considered read for amendment.

The text of House Concurrent Resolution 227 is as follows:

#### H. CON. RES. 227

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),

# SECTION 1. REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

- (1) The Congress has the sole power to declare war under article I, section \$, of the Constitution.

(2) A state of war has not been declared to exist with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(3) A specific authorization for the use of United States Armed Forces with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been enacted.

(4) The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes, within the meaning of section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1543(a)(1)), either hostilities or a situation where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances into which United States Armed Forces have been introduced.

(b) REMOVAL OF ARMED FORCES.—Pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)), the Congress hereby directs the President to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by June 30, 1998 (unless the President requests and the Congress authorizes a later date), except for a limited number of members of the Armed Forces sufficient only to protect United States diplomatic facilities and citizens, and noncombatant personnel to advise the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Commander in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and unless and until a declaration of war or specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces has been enacted.

(c) DECLARATION OF POLICY.—The requirement to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under subsection (b) does not necessarily reflect any disagreement with the purposes or accomplishments of such Armed Forces, nor does it constitute any judgment of how the Congress would vote, if given the opportunity to do so, on either a declaration of war or a specific authorization for the use of such Armed Forces.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, March 12, 1998, amendment No. 1 printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day is adopted.

The text of House Concurrent Resolution 227, as modified, is as follows:

### H. CON. RES. 227

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),

# SECTION 1. REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

- (1) The Congress has the sole power to declare war under article I, section \$, of the Constitution.
- (2) A state of war has not been declared to exist with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- (3) A specific authorization for the use of United States Armed Forces with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been enacted.
- (4) The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes, within the meaning of section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1543(a)(1)), either hostilities or a situation where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances into which United States Armed Forces have been introduced.
- (b) REMOVAL OF ARMED FORCES.—
- (1) In GENERAL.—Pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)), the Congress hereby directs the President to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina not later than 60 days after the date on which a final judgment is entered by a court of competent jurisdiction determining the constitutional validity of this con-

current resolution, unless a declaration of war or specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces has been enacted

(2) EXCEPTION.—The requirement to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect

(A) a limited number of members of the Armed Forces sufficient only to protect United States diplomatic facilities and citizens: or

(B) noncombatant personnel to advise the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Commander in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(c) DECLARATION OF POLICY.—The requirement to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under subsection (b) does not necessarily reflect any disagreement with the purposes or accomplishments of such Armed Forces, nor does it constitute any judgment of how the Congress would vote, if given the opportunity to do so, on either a declaration of war or a specific authorization for the use of such Armed Forces.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL) will control 60 minutes and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution of the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. CAMP-BELL). Although I understand and am sympathetic to the gentleman's efforts to assert the prerogatives concerning the war-making authority vested in the Congress by the U.S. Constitution. I believe for reasons of both policy and procedure that this measure is not the manner in which we should endeavor to uphold those prerogatives. On policy grounds, this resolution would send an untimely signal that this House no longer supports the Dayton peace agreement for Bosnia, an agreement that is now just showing signs of succeeding.

In the past few months, we have seen the glimmerings of success in regenerating a stable civil society in all of Bosnia. War criminals are voluntarily turning themselves in, and there is a new, more moderate government of the Bosnian Serbs that actually wants to cooperate with implementing the peace plan. Restructuring and reforming of the police in both the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Republic of Srpska is proceeding. Moreover we have expended in excess of \$7 billion to implement our peace plan in Bosnia. Withdrawal at this stage would place that considerable investment at risk, with no guarantee that we would not be called upon in the future to once again introduce our forces if the conflict reignites.

On procedural grounds, far from restoring congressional authority to declare war, this resolution would take the authority and place it in the hands